

Table 7: Models from Table 3 with recipient and agency fixed effects

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	-21.502 (4.784)	-26.720 (5.921)	-29.627 (7.260)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.621 (0.008)	0.628 (0.008)	0.625 (0.008)
Polity	0.044 (0.019)	0.024 (0.017)	0.022 (0.015)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.295 (0.180)	-0.293 (0.218)	-0.111 (0.255)
Log(Population)	1.470 (0.289)	1.763 (0.354)	1.752 (0.324)
Alliance X Independence	-0.646 (0.202)		
Log(Trade)		0.206 (0.059)	
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.311 (0.036)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.150 (0.313)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.401 (0.087)
R ²	0.651	0.649	0.648
Num. obs.	20037	20468	22666

Table 8: Models from Table 3 with agency and year fixed effects

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	1.409 (0.393)	4.440 (0.556)	-2.896 (0.564)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.663 (0.008)	0.669 (0.008)	0.667 (0.007)
Polity	0.019 (0.005)	0.027 (0.004)	0.036 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.380 (0.021)	-0.526 (0.033)	-0.153 (0.033)
Log(Population)	0.146 (0.019)	0.000 (0.029)	0.202 (0.017)
Alliance	0.611 (0.109)		
Alliance X Independence	-0.583 (0.205)		
Log(Trade)		0.283 (0.026)	
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.286 (0.036)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.197 (0.062)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.357 (0.088)
R ²	0.643	0.642	0.641
Num. obs.	20037	20468	22666

Table 9: Models from Table 3 with recipient and year fixed effects

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	-17.386 (7.949)	-12.003 (8.988)	-17.347 (7.970)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.774 (0.006)	0.776 (0.006)	0.772 (0.005)
Polity	0.035 (0.021)	0.018 (0.017)	0.015 (0.016)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.248 (0.295)	-0.502 (0.318)	-0.292 (0.290)
Log(Population)	1.299 (0.401)	0.984 (0.466)	1.301 (0.393)
Independence	0.051 (0.109)	1.362 (0.264)	-0.878 (0.282)
Alliance X Independence	-0.396 (0.208)		
Log(Trade)		0.174 (0.062)	
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.222 (0.036)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.005 (0.452)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.249 (0.087)
R ²	0.618	0.619	0.617
Num. obs.	20037	20468	22666

Table 10: Models from Table 3, but excluding agency outliers

	USAID 1	USAID 2	USAID 3	ADF 1	ADF 2	ADF 3	DOD 1	DOD 2	DOD 3
(Intercept)	0.112 (0.370)	3.014 (0.537)	-3.745 (0.560)	4.478 (0.767)	6.688 (0.848)	0.849 (0.827)	0.305 (0.359)	2.926 (0.536)	-3.385 (0.548)
$\text{Log}(\text{ODA})_{t-1}$	0.655 (0.008)	0.661 (0.008)	0.659 (0.008)	0.665 (0.008)	0.670 (0.008)	0.669 (0.007)	0.674 (0.008)	0.677 (0.008)	0.678 (0.008)
Polity	0.020 (0.005)	0.027 (0.004)	0.035 (0.004)	0.019 (0.005)	0.028 (0.004)	0.037 (0.004)	0.019 (0.004)	0.024 (0.004)	0.032 (0.004)
$\text{Log}(\text{GDP}/\text{Cap})$	-0.324 (0.021)	-0.467 (0.033)	-0.102 (0.033)	-0.384 (0.022)	-0.555 (0.035)	-0.160 (0.034)	-0.364 (0.021)	-0.496 (0.033)	-0.161 (0.032)
$\text{Log}(\text{Population})$	0.136 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.028)	0.191 (0.017)	0.160 (0.019)	-0.005 (0.030)	0.217 (0.018)	0.142 (0.018)	0.016 (0.028)	0.190 (0.017)
Alliance	0.589 (0.106)			0.582 (0.107)			0.398 (0.108)		
Alliance X Independence	-0.592 (0.200)			-0.365 (0.229)			-0.284 (0.201)		
$\text{Log}(\text{Trade})$		0.259 (0.026)			0.276 (0.026)			0.237 (0.026)	
$\text{Log}(\text{Trade}) \times \text{Independence}$		-0.235 (0.036)			-0.224 (0.040)			-0.217 (0.036)	
$\text{Log}(\text{Infant Mortality})$			0.272 (0.061)			0.215 (0.062)			0.191 (0.061)
$\text{Log}(\text{Infant Mortality}) \times \text{Independence}$			0.135 (0.087)			0.304 (0.099)			0.273 (0.088)
R^2	0.613	0.605	0.608	0.666	0.660	0.662	0.683	0.675	0.680
Num. obs.	18655	19052	21103	18655	19052	21103	18655	19052	21103

Table 11: Models from Table 3, but excluding country outliers – Afghanistan, Colombia, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Israel, Pakistan

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	0.350 (0.364)	3.328 (0.532)	-3.637 (0.549)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.670 (0.008)	0.674 (0.008)	0.674 (0.007)
Polity	0.019 (0.005)	0.027 (0.004)	0.035 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.371 (0.021)	-0.518 (0.032)	-0.150 (0.032)
Log(Population)	0.142 (0.018)	-0.009 (0.028)	0.194 (0.017)
Alliance	0.527 (0.107)		
Alliance X Independence	-0.415 (0.203)		
Log(Trade)		0.261 (0.026)	
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.217 (0.036)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.218 (0.061)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.272 (0.088)
R ²	0.669	0.663	0.665
Num. obs.	19270	19776	21899

Table 12: Probability of obtaining U.S. ODA, and value of ODA receipts in the recipient subsample. Logit and ordinary least squares models. Agency-specific time trends omitted from the table.

	Logit 1	Logit 2	Logit 3	OLS 1	OLS 2	OLS 3
(Intercept)	-19.024 (981.383)	-15.909 (927.030)	-23.106 (921.944)	9.633 (0.616)	11.654 (0.654)	8.627 (0.719)
Recipient _{t-1}	3.369 (0.062)	3.299 (0.062)	3.383 (0.058)			
Polity	0.024 (0.005)	0.035 (0.004)	0.042 (0.004)	0.018 (0.005)	0.016 (0.004)	0.017 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.408 (0.022)	-0.571 (0.034)	-0.170 (0.033)	-0.114 (0.025)	-0.117 (0.035)	-0.073 (0.033)
Log(Population)	0.138 (0.017)	-0.021 (0.028)	0.192 (0.016)	0.245 (0.017)	0.224 (0.027)	0.259 (0.016)
Alliance	0.657 (0.094)			0.020 (0.085)		
Alliance X Independence	-0.530 (0.174)			-0.161 (0.134)		
Log(Trade)		0.270 (0.025)			0.046 (0.022)	
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.207 (0.032)			-0.045 (0.027)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.279 (0.060)			-0.008 (0.060)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.171 (0.090)			0.160 (0.088)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}				0.175 (0.006)	0.175 (0.005)	0.176 (0.005)
AIC	10197.044	10307.951	11461.767			
BIC	11620.004	11615.843	12906.919			
Log Likelihood	-4918.522	-4988.976	-5550.883			
Deviance	9837.044	9977.951	11101.767			
Num. obs.	20037	20468	22666	5723	5558	6228
R ²				0.503	0.500	0.506

Table 13: Models from Table 3, but controlling for all foreign policy motives in each equation.

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	0.748 (0.831)	1.422 (0.832)	0.174 (0.848)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.671 (0.008)	0.669 (0.008)	0.672 (0.008)
Polity	0.025 (0.005)	0.025 (0.005)	0.025 (0.005)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.392 (0.051)	-0.394 (0.051)	-0.392 (0.051)
Log(Population)	0.031 (0.032)	0.031 (0.032)	0.031 (0.032)
Log(Trade)	0.132 (0.026)	0.228 (0.030)	0.131 (0.026)
Alliance	0.514 (0.113)	0.267 (0.081)	0.265 (0.081)
Log(Infant Mortality)	0.211 (0.059)	0.212 (0.058)	0.105 (0.071)
Alliance X Independence	-0.716 (0.207)		
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.274 (0.041)	
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.303 (0.103)
R ²	0.669	0.669	0.669
Num. obs.	18271	18271	18271

Table 14: Models from Table 3 with additional control variable for divided government in the U.S.

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	1.366 (0.426)	4.304 (0.576)	-2.657 (0.558)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.672 (0.008)	0.676 (0.008)	0.676 (0.007)
Polity	0.019 (0.004)	0.027 (0.004)	0.035 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.373 (0.021)	-0.518 (0.032)	-0.150 (0.032)
Log(Population)	0.142 (0.018)	0.000 (0.028)	0.197 (0.017)
Divided Government	-0.998 (0.220)	-1.018 (0.235)	-1.012 (0.198)
Alliance	0.599 (0.105)		
Alliance X Independence	-0.574 (0.197)		
Log(Trade)		0.264 (0.025)	
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.241 (0.035)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.230 (0.060)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.248 (0.087)
R ²	0.671	0.665	0.667
Num. obs.	20037	20468	22666

Table 15: Models from Table 3 with additional control for the occurrence of interstate/intrastate intermediate armed conflicts or wars (UCDP).

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	-1.069 (0.502)	0.901 (0.686)	-3.799 (0.771)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.672 (0.012)	0.678 (0.011)	0.678 (0.011)
Polity	0.030 (0.006)	0.033 (0.005)	0.039 (0.005)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.205 (0.028)	-0.304 (0.041)	-0.118 (0.045)
Log(Population)	0.156 (0.026)	0.069 (0.037)	0.199 (0.024)
conflict	-0.132 (0.127)	-0.084 (0.119)	-0.112 (0.119)
Alliance	0.585 (0.143)		
Alliance X Independence	-0.631 (0.294)		
Log(Trade)		0.191 (0.033)	
Log(Trade) X Independence		-0.206 (0.049)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			-0.134 (0.085)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence			0.663 (0.137)
R ²	0.680	0.677	0.676
Num. obs.	9702	10808	10906

Table 16: Models from Table 3, but using a binary Independence measure.

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	0.339 (0.360)	2.979 (0.530)	-3.766 (0.544)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.672 (0.008)	0.678 (0.008)	0.675 (0.007)
Polity	0.019 (0.004)	0.027 (0.004)	0.035 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.373 (0.021)	-0.516 (0.032)	-0.150 (0.032)
Log(Population)	0.142 (0.018)	0.000 (0.028)	0.198 (0.017)
Alliance	0.483 (0.086)		
Alliance X Independence ^d :	-0.227 (0.126)		
Log(Trade)		0.215 (0.023)	
Log(Trade) X Independence ^d :		-0.093 (0.022)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.234 (0.054)
Log(Infant Mortality) X Independence ^d :			0.219 (0.056)
R ²	0.671	0.665	0.667
Num. obs.	20037	20468	22666

Table 17: Models from Table 3, but using an alternative measure of agency Independence from Selin (2013).

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	0.333 (0.360)	2.882 (0.529)	-3.675 (0.540)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.672 (0.008)	0.679 (0.008)	0.675 (0.007)
Polity	0.019 (0.004)	0.027 (0.004)	0.035 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.373 (0.021)	-0.516 (0.032)	-0.150 (0.032)
Log(Population)	0.142 (0.018)	0.000 (0.028)	0.198 (0.017)
Alliance	0.503 (0.092)		
Alliance X selin	-0.279 (0.159)		
Log(Trade)		0.216 (0.023)	
Log(Trade) X selin		-0.097 (0.028)	
Log(Infant Mortality)			0.219 (0.055)
Log(Infant Mortality) X selin			0.258 (0.069)
R ²	0.671	0.665	0.667
Num. obs.	20037	20468	22666

Table 18: Alternative measures of development need – income per capita, % of AIDS in the Log(Population), % of Log(Population) under 5\$ per day, and life expectancy.

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3	Log(ODA) 4
(Intercept)	-0.215 (0.351)	-5.272 (0.740)	-1.476 (0.968)	0.301 (0.380)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.678 (0.007)	0.567 (0.015)	0.653 (0.013)	0.677 (0.007)
Polity	0.030 (0.004)	0.036 (0.009)	0.036 (0.010)	0.029 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.269 (0.029)	-0.088 (0.044)	-0.202 (0.103)	-0.312 (0.026)
Log(Population)	0.181 (0.016)	0.443 (0.038)	0.130 (0.034)	0.185 (0.017)
Log(GDP/Cap) X Independence	-0.133 (0.056)			
AIDS/Population		0.097 (0.040)		
AIDS/Population X Independence		0.183 (0.083)		
Poverty			0.013 (0.005)	
Poverty X Independence			0.004 (0.007)	
Life expectancy				0.012 (0.005)
Life expectancy X Independence				-0.035 (0.008)
R ²	0.666	0.639	0.689	0.667
Num. obs.	22666	7125	6824	22492

Table 19: Models from Table 3 with alternative measures of U.S. diplomatic interest – Troops stationed in the recipient country, Distance from the U.S., net FDI outflow from the U.S. to the recipient, and bilateral tax treaty.

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3	Log(ODA) 4
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.670 (0.007)	0.675 (0.007)	0.674 (0.008)	0.677 (0.007)
Polity	0.035 (0.004)	0.025 (0.004)	0.027 (0.005)	0.031 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap)	-0.352 (0.023)	-0.349 (0.019)	-0.392 (0.025)	-0.292 (0.019)
Log(Population)	0.144 (0.020)	0.194 (0.017)	0.176 (0.021)	0.206 (0.018)
Log(Troops) 2005	0.062 (0.020)			
Log(Troops) 2005 X Independence	-0.098 (0.037)			
Distance		-0.046 (0.013)		
Distance X Independence		-0.005 (0.026)		
FDI			0.035 (0.012)	
FDI X Independence			-0.095 (0.022)	
BTT				-0.002 (0.091)
BTT X Independence				-0.606 (0.173)
R ²	0.759	0.757	0.770	0.756
Num. obs.	20559	22111	15632	22666

Table 20: Bootstrapped PCA model with method of composition. Relationship between foreign policy motives, agency independence, and ODA allocation patterns. Linear models. Robust standard errors. The models include agency and year fixed effects, as well as agency-specific time trends (omitted from the table).

	Alliance		Trade		Infant mortality	
	Coef.	SE	Coef	SE	Coef	SE
(Intercept)	1.296	0.418	4.327	0.578	-2.978	0.633
Log(GDP/cap)	-0.380	0.023	-0.530	0.034	-0.149	0.037
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.663	0.006	0.669	0.006	0.667	0.005
Polity	0.019	0.005	0.027	0.005	0.036	0.004
Log(Population)	0.150	0.019	0.002	0.029	0.206	0.018
Alliance	0.684	0.122				
Alliance x Independence	-0.638	0.235				
Log(Trade)			0.326	0.030		
Log(Trade) x Independence			-0.325	0.043		
Log(Infant mortality)					0.163	0.076
Log(Infant mortality) x Independence					0.393	0.121

Table 21: Models from Table 3, but with all regressors lagged by one year.

	Log(ODA) 1	Log(ODA) 2	Log(ODA) 3
(Intercept)	0.425 (0.359)	3.450 (0.506)	-3.766 (0.544)
Log(ODA) _{t-1}	0.670 (0.008)	0.672 (0.007)	0.675 (0.007)
Polity _{t-1}	0.018 (0.004)	0.026 (0.004)	0.035 (0.004)
Log(GDP/Cap) _{t-1}	-0.381 (0.021)	-0.538 (0.031)	-0.149 (0.032)
Log(Population) _{t-1}	0.142 (0.018)	-0.004 (0.027)	0.200 (0.017)
Alliance _{t-1}	0.636 (0.105)		
Alliance _{t-1} X Independence _{t-1}	-0.619 (0.198)		
Log(Trade) _{t-1}		0.253 (0.024)	
Log(Trade) _{t-1} X Independence _{t-1}		-0.217 (0.034)	
Log(Infant Mortality) _{t-1}			0.245 (0.061)
Log(Infant Mortality) _{t-1} X Independence _{t-1}			0.242 (0.087)
R ²	0.670	0.668	0.667
Num. obs.	20053	22361	22653

Figure 4: Distribution of ODA receipts by country and agency (2 of 2). Please note the change in scale from Figure 3.

